

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 DHA-02 IO-13 TRSE-00 AID-05

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R 070430Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1552

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, MARR, ECON, ASEAN, ID

SUBJECT: EMBASSY'S IMPRESSIONS OF BALI SEMINAR ON SOUTHEAST ASIA-
US RELATIONS

REF: JAKARTA 6393 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: MAY30-JUNE 1 SEMINAR ON SOUTHEAST ASIA-US RELATIONS
IN BALI PROVIDED US CONGRESSIONAL, EXECUTIVE BRANCH, BUSINESS,
ACADEMIC AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES USEFUL OPPORTUNITIES FOR
FRANK EXCHANGES WITH MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVES FROM
ASEAN NATIONS AND INDONESIAN CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES PERSONNEL ON PROSPECTS FOR ASEAN, US PRESENCE IN ASIA,
NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. PHILIPPINE, MALAYSIAN,
SINGAPOREAN AND THAI REPRESENTATIVES GAVE IMPRESSIVE DESCRIPTION
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OF VITALITY OF ASEAN COOPERATION, FILLING IN US ACADEMIC AND
MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES ON MANY DEVELOPMENTS OF PAST
SIX MONTHS WHICH THEY SEEMED TO HAVE MISSED. US PARTI-
CIPANTS GENERALLY FOUND MALAYSIAN AND SINGAPOREAN
MINISTERS' PICTURE OF CURRENT COMMUNIST THREAT TO ASEAN
NATIONS OVERDRAWN AND REBUTTED THEIR EXPRESSIONS OF
CONCERN THAT US WAS WITHDRAWING FROM ASIA. INDONESIAN

MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVE EMPHASIZED HIS GOVERNMENT'S MODERATE STANCE ON NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, ALTHOUGH DIFFERENCES IN US AND ASIAN VIEWPOINTS WERE NOT DISGUISED. MALAYSIAN MINISTER MADE IMPASSIONED PLEA, SECONDED BY SINGAPOREAN AND OTHERS, THAT US TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION WHEN EVALUATING HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IN JUNE 2 MEETING IN JAKARTA GROUP HEARD PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM SUMARLIN COMMENT ON INDONESIA'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND GOALS IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. PARTICIPANTS: CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES WAS FORTUNATE IN OBTAINING VERY ARTICULATE AND ALE SPOKESMEN FOR MALAYSIA (MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS TAN SRI GHAZALI), PHILIPPINES (SECRETARY OF INDUSTRY PATERNO), SINGAPORE (SENIOR MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS K.C. LEE) AND OHAILAND (DIRGEN FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS BIRABHONGSE KASEMSRI). INDONESIAN REPRESENTATIVES WERE LESS IMPRESSIVE PRIMARILY BECAUSE CSIS PARTICIPANTS, WITH EXCEPTION OF SEMINAR'S ORGANIZER LIM BIAN KIE, ARE NOT DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS OR SPEAKERS AND PROBABLY DID NOT WISH TO SHARE THE PODIUM WITH OTHER INDONESIANS WHO ARE. (CSIS BOARD APPARENTLY MADE DECISION NOT INVITE LEADING INTELLECTUAL SOEDJATMOKO.) MINISTER FF MINES SADLI, WHO REPRESENTED GOI, PREFERRED TO TAKE BACK SEAT ROLE BUT WAS FRANK AND PERSUASIVE WHEN BROUGHT TO THE FLOOR. SENATOR ROTH OF DELAWARE, REP. ANDERSON OF ILLINOIS AND REP. JEFFORDS OF VERMONT HEADED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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US CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, DEPUTY ASST. SECRETARY OAKLEY, NSC REP ARMACOST, AMB. ALSTON, AMB. NEWSOM AND AMB. FRITTS REPRESENTED USG. AUSTRALIA AND CANADA WERE REPRESENTED BY HIGH-LEVEL FONDEPT AND EMBASSY PERSONNEL, AND JAPAN, NEW ZEALAND AND PAPUA NEW GUINEA BY THEIR AMBASSADORS OR DCMS. DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF US ACADEMIC, BUSINESS AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES WERE AS LISTED REFTEL.

3. ASEAN. GHAZALI OUTLINED IN DETAIL THE DEGREE TO WHICH ASEAN GOVERNMENTS ARE NOW INFORMALLY COORDINATING THEIR POLICIES, POINTING OUT THAT ASEAN CAUSUSES ARE NOW AUTOMATICALLY HELD IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL GATHERING. PATERNO ARGUED THAT ASEAN SHOULD NOT BE COMPARED TO EEC, NTING THAT THE ABSENCE OF A LONG RANGE ECONOMIC BLUEPRINT AND OF ELABORATE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY LED WESTERNERS TO UNDERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF ASEAN COOPERATION ATTAINED THROUGH INFORMAL CHANNELS. GHAZALI UNDERScoreD THIS POINT AND IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION SUGGESTED THAT ASEAN SECRETARIAT SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN FUNCTIONS AND

POWERS WHICH WOULD INTERFERE WITH CURRENTLY EXTENSIVE DIRECT EXCHANGES AMONG ASEAN GOVERNMENTS' POLITICAL LEADERS AND TECHNICIANS. PATERNO, GHAZALI AND LEE EMPHASIZED THAT ASEAN GOVERNMENTS MAY NOT ALWAYS AGREE WITH EACH OTHER BUT UNDERSTAND EACH OTHERS PROBLEMS AND GOALS TO DEGREE UNHEARD OF BEFORE.

4. PRESENCE: GHAZALI AND LEE PAINTED GLOOMY PICTURE OF LONG RANGE SECURITY SITUATION IN MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA BASED PRINCIPALLY ON PRC AND SRV HOSTILE INTENTIONS. GHAZALI CLAIMED THAT, IF VIETNAMESE WERE NOT NOW SUPPLYING WEAPONS TO THAI AND MALAYSIAN INSURGENTS, THIS WAS ONLY BECAUSE THEIR PROTEGES ARE NOT YET IN COMMAND OF THESE INSURGENCIES. GHAZALI AND LEE CONSEQUENTLY RECOMMENDED AGAINST US PROVIDING DEVELOPMENT AID TO SRV. GENERAL ALI MURTOPO WARNED THAT US RAPPROCHEMENT WITH PRC WOULD GIVE LATTER MORE OPPORTUNITY TO CAUSE ASEAN NATIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TROUBLE AND WONDERED WHETHER TAIWANESE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE MIGHT NOT BE "HELPFUL" IN ALLOWING ASEAN GOVERNMENTS TO SURMOUNT CONSTRAINTS OF THEIR ONE-CHINA POLICY. GHAZALI, LEE, MURTOPO, OTHER ASIAN PARTICIPANTS, AND ASIA ECONOMIC REVIEW EDITOR DEREK DAVIES, EXPRESSED DOUBTS OVER US TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM KOREA. AMERICAN OFFICIAL AND ACADEMIC PARTICIPANTS NOTED THAT US WAS WITHDRAWING ONLY GROUND FORCES NOT SECURITY COMMITMENT FROM KOREA AND EXPLAINED WHY NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD SRV AND PRC LIKELY TO ENHANCE RATHER THAN HARM ASEAN NATIONS' SECURITY. SPEAKING WITH "BRUTAL HONESTY," JOE KRAFT OF WASHINGTON POST SAID SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS SHOULD RECOGNIZE THA THEY ARE "NOT VERY IMPORTANT" TO US INTERESTS AND SHOULD LOOK TO WESTERN PRIVATE RATHER THAN GOVERNMENT SECTORS TO MEET THEIR NEEDS. OTHER US PARTICIPANTS DISAGREED. BANK OF AMERICA VICE PRESIDENT HOADLEY NOTED THAT SEA OFFERED FERTILE FIELD FOR PRIVATE INVESTMENT BUT STATED THAT FEAR OF NEW WORLDWIDE BOOM AND BUST CYCLE AS WELL AS DOUBTS OVER LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLICIES WERE CAUSING INVESTORS TO SHY AWAY.

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5. NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE: SADLI SAID GOI REGARDS SOUTHERN QUEST FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AS AN EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT SIMILAR TO LABOR, MINORITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS IN US. LIKE THAT OF US LABOR MOVEMENT, STRUGGLE IS LIKELY TO BE PROTRACTED, HE SAID, BUT COULD RESULT IN SOUTH'S BECOMING PILLAR OF THE SYSTEM. INDONESIA WITH SEVEN PERCENT GROWTH RATE IS PATIENT, SADLI SAID, AND COULD WAIT FOR 20 YEARS. ONLY OUT OF DESPERATION WOULD IT SEEK TO REPLACE SYSTEM. SADLI ACCUSED AMERICANS OF FOCUSSING TOO MUCH ON AID BECAUSE IT DOES NOT AFFECT THE SYSTEM AND NOTED THAT I ASEAN ONLY INDONESIA IS RECIPIENT OF SIGNIFICANT AID WHILE OTHER NATIONS LOOK TOWARD TRADE PREFERENCES, COMMON FUND AND MARKET ACCESS TO MEET THEIR NEEDS. WHEN AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS POINTED TO US PUBLIC'S AVERSION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO TAXING DEVELOPED COUNTRIES' POORT TO PAY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' RICH AND ARGUED THAT SOUTERN NATIONS' DEMANDS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE RANG HOLLOW IF THEY DID NOT PERMIT INTERNAL JUSTICE, LIM BIAN KIE AND OTHER ASIAN PARTICIPANTS NOTED THAT THE US AID OFFICIALS WORKING AT VILLAGE LEVEL WOULD CREATE PROBLEMS FOR MOST ASEAN COUNTRIES. SADLI SAID GOI RECOGNIZED THAT PASSAGE FROM \$200 TO \$400 PER CAPITA GNP WOULD CREATE CRISES IN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH WHICH WOULD THREATEN SURVIVAL OF

THE CURRENT INDONESIAN RGIME. GOI RECOGNIZES THEREFORE CRUCIAL NEED FOR MORE INTERNAL SOCIAL JUSTICE AS WELL AS EXTENRAL TRANSFER OF RESOURCES. THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, IS FINDING MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WITHIN A CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS: IN A SOMEWHAT IMPASSIONED INTERVENTION, GHAZALI CLAIMED THAT IN PRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AMERICANS TENDED TO OVERLOOK DEMOCRATIC GAINS MADE IN MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE AND FACT THAT REGIMES' INTERNAL ENEMIES ARE USING HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE TO DESTROY HUMAN RIGHTS. LEE SUPPORTED THIS LINE. KRAFT CHARGED THAT GHAZALI'S ARGUMENT SHOWED A LOW PAIN THRESHOLD FOR DEMOCRACY DERIVED FROM FOCUSING ON THE INSURGENCY. GENERAL MURTOPO IN HIS FORMAL PRESENTATION EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USEMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD PAY PROPER REGARD TO LOCAL NORMS AND VALUES AND WARNED THAT "VALUE JUDGMENT" OF OTHER COUNTRIES' SYSTEMS WOULD CERTAINLY BE INTERPRETED AS INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ECHOING THIS ARGUMENT, LEE SAID THAT, JUST AS REPRESENTATION OF JESUS' AND BUDDHA'S FACES CHANGE WITH EACH CULTURE, SO DO HUMAN RIGHTS TAKE DIFFERENT FORMS IN DIFFERENT AREAS. US PARTICIPANTS POINTED TO THE UNIVERSAL NATURE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSALS AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFORDS READ A DEFINITION FROM AID LEGISLATION TO DEMONSTRATE THAT NORMS ADVOCATED WERE NOT CULTURE-BOUND.

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7. IN JAKARTA ON MORNING OF JUNE 2 PARTICIPANTS SPENT HALF AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO, WHO SPOKE INFORMALLY OF INDONESIA'S INTEREST IN ASEAN AND CITED WITHOUT NOTES A NUMBER OF STATISTICS SHOWING INDOESIA'S PROGRESS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IN RAISING LIVING STANDARDS. THIS MEETING RECEIVED EXTENSIVE ATTENTION BY LOCAL NEWSPAPERS, MOST OF WHICH FEATURED PHOTOGRAPH OF SUHARTO SHAKING HANDS WITH NEWSWEEK INTERNATIONAL EDITOR CHRISTOPHER. IN AFTERNOON SESSION AT CSIS BUILDING, AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS HEARD RUNDOWN OF ELECTION RESULTS AND BRIEF SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS BY MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM SUMARLIN. SUMARLIN ATTEMPTED, NOT ALWAYS SUCCESSFULLY, TO ANSWER PARTICIPANTS' QUESTIONS ON WIDE RANGE OF ECONOMIC TOPICS.

8. ABOVE COMMENTS REPRESENT SUMMARY IMPRESSIONS OF EMBASSY SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS ONLY AND MAY VARY FROM THOSE OF MANY OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THIS LIVELY AND WIDE-RANGING SEMINAR. CSIS RAPPORTEUR'S ACCOUNT OF SESSIONS WILL BE POUCHED TO ADDRESSEES WHEN RECEIVED.

9. CSIS REPRESENTATIVES TELL US THAT SECRETARY PATERNO
HAS OFFERED TO HOST A SIMILAR SEMINAR IN THE PHILIPPINES
NEXT YEAR WHICH WOULD FOCUS ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS
BETWEEN US AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.
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